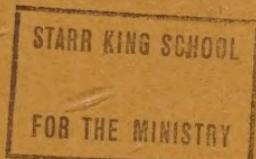


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*The Journal of*

# LIBERAL RELIGION

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*"To encourage creative, scholarly writing" by religious liberals.*

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*The Journal of*

# LIBERAL RELIGION

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## The Dynamic of the Liberal Faith

AN EDITORIAL

This issue marks a new year and a new chapter in the brief but significant history of the JOURNAL OF LIBERAL RELIGION. Established five years ago "to encourage creative and scholarly writing" by religious liberals, the Journal has faithfully discharged its commission under the able editorship of James Luther Adams and his associates. The new editors, grateful for the foundation which has already been laid, and in recognition of their immediate responsibility, have undertaken to launch forth on a discussion of the post-war situation by a panel of our own colleagues in the liberal faith. It is fitting that the retiring editor take his place on this panel. The "new" Journal will probably not always be a handbook of some commanding theme, although the editors and their counsellors would be glad to know the extent to which such a technique of discussion would—from time to time—be welcomed by our readers generally.

Editing a journal such as this, whatever its success or shortcomings, must in the nature of things be a labor of love. As such it has its rewards. Our masthead carries a very great and a very significant phrase. The achievements of liberalism, not simply in religion, but in every field of human endeavor, lie in the future rather than in the past or present; and religion—as liberalism at its best seeks to interpret it—is still the greatest of all human experiences.

What is liberalism in religion? It is the acceptance of life as process, as movement, as change, as emergence, as conscious growth, as purposeful advance. The liberal is haunted by an awareness that all time and all space meet in him in every present moment. He does not deny the great tradition; he affirms it. But he does not expect to find in it the answers to all his questions, nor yet sufficiency for all his emotional needs. The great tradition is a reminder of the way man has come, not a voice to command him in the way he must go.

The liberal knows that in man — himself and all mankind — the universe has come to consciousness. Haltingly, uncertainly, wastefully, consciousness has emerged after the travail of the ages. Man can look backward and learn from his mistakes; he can look about him and get his cosmic bearings; he can look forward with "purpose in his heart." He can anticipate a hard road ahead by pondering the weary centuries over which his forbears have groped. He will therefore neither despair too easily nor expect too anxiously.

### **Life Not Necessarily Worthwhile or Purposeful**

We need not proclaim that life for all people in our present world is infinitely worthwhile, for nothing could be more obvious than that for countless thousands life has been one long weary pilgrimage of frustration and defeat. We need only assess the resources within us and without — and increasingly available — to believe that for most people life on earth can be and ought to be a rich and joyous experience.

We need not assert against all odds that there is a divine purpose towards which the whole creation moves; for in the process of creation we can see neither a beginning nor an end. We can, however, find the assurance that we have at last achieved the means of formulating a purpose towards which a given generation of mankind may deliberately choose to move.

It is thus that the liberal can find, not simply the equivalent of the ancient faith, but a greater faith. There are different accents which distinguish liberals from one another, and changing emphases with reference to man's nature and his destiny; but it is this conception of life — life's mighty sweep from out of the past, through the present and into the future — with which we are all irrevocably identified, and on which we find our common agreement. To deny this, or to ignore it, is to betray life itself as liberals have come to understand it; to affirm it is to take hold of religion's central concern.

To the affirmation of this faith in the process of life, and to our varied expressions with reference to its implications and its meaning for us all, the new editors of the JOURNAL OF LIBERAL RELIGION dedicate this and all succeeding issues.

EDWIN T. BUEHRER.

## *Action and Inter. Action*

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Somewhere the social front touches every one of our churches just as the ocean front touches every land. Unitarianism does not cover the earth. Our "greater parish" consists of some 136,000 people, or about one-tenth of one percent of our national poulation.

What can so few do among so many? Can these generate the kind of intellectual and spiritual climate in which there can be post-war planning for the common good? Obviously not, not alone; but somewhere we must take hold. In Boston anti-Semitism provided the point of contact for the churches; in Detroit it was the race riot. Chicago has a multiplicity of social afflictions. Where is the city which does not have its parallels to all these fronts? Is there a person anywhere within the great religious fellowship who is not haunted by the ominous nearness of one or more of the world's many problems?

What shall ministers do? What shall churches do? Two things, we answer: Take vigorous hold somewhere; harness the available resources of your church to some problem near enough to command attention and to produce results. There is no substitute for a specific program of action even if it is as simple and safe as collecting materials for Russian or Chinese relief. The other grows out of, and interacts with, it: Educate your people and help them feel intellectually and emotionally their involvement with all the other problems of the social front.

Is there a reading table in your church? Is it a living stream of information and inspiration? Have you a forum or some other vehicle of expression in which issues are brought to a focus? This is the continuing alliance which pulpit and pew need. Never before has there been such an opportunity for minister and congregation to generate community action with reference to the critical problems which the period of post-war reconstruction will place upon us.

# A Survey of Post-War Planning

## Analysis of Major Proposals

By DONALD HARRINGTON

The total destruction of modern war makes it obvious that men either must organize for peace, or perish. The perplexing question is: *How shall we organize; what plan shall we follow to attain a peaceful relationship between the nations at some time in the discernible future?* Throughout the centuries a few men have grappled with this problem, and have thought it through to possible solutions; and today, in an increasing flood, specific plans are emerging.

Fortunately for the common citizen as for the student, a new book has recently appeared which brings the clear, white light of understanding of the basic issues involved in world organization into the confused arena of competing peace-plans.<sup>1</sup> Setting up a key by which the various plans may be analyzed, and their adequacies and inadequacies noted, this book brings order out of chaos and enables one to make an intelligent choice between plans in terms of the basic issues which they must meet. The most complete collection of peace plans ever assembled, it presents in concise form over two hundred proposals to unite the nations dating from 1306 to 1944, including most of the current well-known plans such as those of Culbertson and Streit. Further, it lists all previous compilations of plans, presents a concise account of all practical attempts to unite nations from 1375 B.C. to 1918, and includes charts of all existing federal or confederate constitutions, including those of Switzerland and the Soviet Union. It is a book which no one interested in exercising his responsibilities in the post-war world can afford to be without.

The United States will emerge from this war as the world's strongest economic, military and naval power, and thus, to a

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<sup>1</sup>Wynner, Edith and Lloyd, Georgia, "Searchlight on Peace Plans," E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc. New York, N. Y. 1944. \$5.00.

large degree, will bear the responsibility for determining the nature of post-war world organization. Post-war planning in America is therefore of special importance for the peace to come. Proposals are being presented today by various American pressure groups, especially by the Protestant Church, the labor movement, organized business, and governmental leaders and agencies. If Americans wish to act intelligently they must understand not only the plans analyzed in the above-mentioned book but also the current action of their own American groups. To present and compare the action programs of these is the main purpose of this article.

### The Voice of the Protestant Church

Under the leadership of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America representatives of more than seventy communions and religious bodies gathered at Delaware, Ohio, in March of 1942, and agreed upon a detailed statement of what the church considered to be the necessary bases of a "just and durable peace."<sup>22</sup> This statement set forth the church's conviction that the bases are three-fold: political, social and economic, and that they are interwoven one with the other.

*Political.* Politically, world cooperation of *all* nations and the limitation of national sovereignty were called for. The report emphasized the need for an international, federal governmental authority with an international law, legislature and court, and various administrative bodies such as the International Labor Office. The international authority should be representative of all nations, with those colonies and dependencies unready for self-government to be administered by the international authority in preparation for self-government and for their own well-being.

*Social.* Socially, the report called for world-wide recognition of the fact that mankind is one in nature and "in the sight of God," and that no group of men is inherently superi-

<sup>22</sup>The Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace, 'A Message from the National Study Conference on the Churches and a Just and Durable Peace,' 297 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y., 1942.

or or inferior to any other. Freedom of movement, worship, speech, assembly, conscience, press, art, scientific inquiry, teaching and cultural development were advocated; and the equitable treatment of all racial groups in educational opportunities, employment, wages, hours, working conditions, opportunities to enter business or the professions, in housing, transportation and the right to vote.

*Economic.* In the field of economic relations it affirmed the need for international cooperation in the meeting of the world's economic needs, stating that no nation any longer could solve its economic problems alone. It found the private profit system inadequate to meet the needs of the current world situation, and affirmed the desirability of developing an economic system with a more Christian motivation than that of private profit. The statement suggested that various forms of economic organization, public, private and cooperative be tried simultaneously with the thought that each form might have its place in the total economy. It proposed the development of stronger, more democratic producer, farmer, labor, professional and consumer organizations, and their integration into a *National Economic Council* for planning, in cooperation with government, for maximum production and consumption and the abolition of unemployment. Formation of industrial councils was urged, representative of management, labor and the consumer, for the democratic direction of each industry towards these same ends. On the international level the report advocated the progressive elimination of all restrictions on world trade, such as tariffs and quotas, under the direction of an international agency; improved labor standards and social security for all the world's people by international collaboration; the establishment of a universal system of money to prevent the manipulation of currencies; and the establishment of a democratically controlled international bank to make available development capital in all parts of the world without an accompanying imperialism and with the aim of raising the standards of living of the underprivileged peoples of the earth.

Both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations have appointed post-war planning

committees to set forth the goals and policies of labor for the post-war world. The CIO Post-war Planning Committee issued its first report in January 1944, entitled "As We Win."

*Political.* The C.I.O. desires world cooperation to "raise levels of living, to develop natural resources, to promote international trade and achieve full and stable employment throughout the world. There should also be an all-embracing world federation with power to deal with political and economic matters of world-wide importance. It should include international machinery to settle disputes, to define aggressors, and to keep disarmed such parts of the world as attempt to break the peace." Organized labor should have an active part in the administration of this international machinery.

*Social.* The C.I.O. supports a policy of equal treatment of all men regardless of race, color or creed.

*Economic.* The C.I.O. desires immediate constructive planning for the reconversion of industry from war to peace production by government, with labor participation. "Post-war plans must be based on clear-cut recognition of the responsibility of the federal government for securing and maintaining full employment, production and consumption. Of course business must be encouraged and aided to achieve these basic goals. But the nation cannot risk another economic breakdown." It believes that over-all national action and controls are essential to full employment and social security. Administration of national policies, however, should be decentralized and brought close to the people. Labor groups, because of their contacts with the masses of the people, should participate actively in planning and administration at all levels. Specifically, the report calls for the creation of "a federal agency to plan for a speedy and orderly transition to full peacetime consumption, employment and production."

### Government-Owned Plants

The federal agency should be headed by a "policy board, with representatives from agriculture, labor and business. It should coordinate the programs of all agencies, secure neces-

sary information, analyze problems, and develop policies." Each industry should have "an industrial council made up of representatives of labor, business and government." Further, the report calls for the destruction of monopoly and the maintenance of genuine economic freedom, not for "monopoly agreements masking as free enterprise." The disposition of government-owned plants should decrease rather than increase monopoly. Such plants should remain in government hands and be operated by the government unless private enterprise can guarantee to keep them in operation at full capacity. In allocating scarce materials during the conversion period government should favor competitive business. Public works should be planned on a huge scale for the year during which conversion will take place. Support of the Wagner-Murray-Dingle Bill should provide "security for those who make society secure."

The A. F. of L. Committee on Post-war Planning has issued its first report entitled, *Reconstruction Administration*. It has also issued numerous bulletins during the last year commenting on American foreign policy.

*Political.* The American Federation of Labor believes that the United States, because of its unequalled productive, economic and military power, has the responsibility of taking the initiative in securing peace and such continuing world agencies as shall make freedom through democratic institutions available for all peoples. It desires "the establishment of permanent agencies to safeguard the rights and welfare of all nations and to deal with problems and issues which otherwise would breed wars." It insists that all such agencies conform to democratic principles from the first so that world relationships shall grow into democratic institutions and assure personal freedom on the widest possible basis. It further insists that "if international agencies are to be democratic, governmental representation should be supplemented by representation from such functional groups as farmers, workers, industrialists, the professions, etc."

*Social.* The A. F. of L. has little to say about this area of concern.

*Economic.* Congress should establish a reconstruction commission to coordinate the planning and timing of demobilization of manpower, the cancellation of war contracts, disposal of the government's war property, and reconversion of productive facilities to production for peace. This commission should have "full authority to determine the over-all policies to be followed by all agencies concerned with reconstruction." The legislation should require the commission to make quarterly reports to Congress, and should provide for a joint committee of the Senate and House to receive and review these reports, hold public hearings on them, and make recommendations to the Senate and House. The commission should consist of representatives appointed by the President from nominations submitted by the organizations representing employers, labor and farmers, and a chairman appointed by the President, all appointments to be confirmed by the Senate. Representatives from all present governmental agencies should serve as consultants to the commission. The report represents a fine summary of the difficulties to be encountered in reconversion, and points out that under present arrangements it will be virtually impossible to prevent government-owned plants from falling into the hands of the monopolists who now operate them. Both the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. reports fail to consider the international economic problems confronting the world.

### The United Voice of Business

The proposals of the United States Chamber of Commerce, the Committee on Economic Development, and the National Association of Manufacturers are so similar that they are easily combined. They can be found in the Post-War Readjustments Series of the Chamber of Commerce, the Second Report of the Post-war Committee of the National Association of Manufacturers, and in "Planning the Future of Your Business," issued by the Committee on Economic Development.

*Political.* "The establishment of an orderly and stable world relationship is not merely an ideal of our times. It is a practical and stark necessity. . . ." The determination should exist to build effective international agencies which will make continuous cooperation between nations possible.

"Our leaders should appreciate *the necessity of enabling all peoples in the world to share in the moulding and functioning of those agencies, as well as in the responsibility for maintaining them.* This means that our best chance for economic progress in the United States will be through co-operation with other nations in a real effort to maintain post-war world peace, and to participate in international agencies for that purpose." No new colonies or dependencies should be established, nor should the inhabitants of colonial areas be exploited. There should be no unrestrained monopolies in colonies or dependencies. In colonies all nations should be treated as equals in such matters as trade, investment and travel. Effort should be made to develop capability for self-government in the colonies.

*Social.* The reports have little to say on this matter.

### Continuance of Private Enterprise

*Economic. Domestic Requirements.* Free competition must be restored in manufacturing, distribution, labor and agriculture. The private profit system must be maintained with fair profits for risk capital. Government must get out of business as rapidly as is commensurate with the national safety. All investment should remain in the hands of private enterprise. Business expects the accumulated demand for goods to make possible, "if there is a favorable governmental and social environment," a well-rounded, self-sustained prosperity. In order to create that favorable environment, existing tax laws should be revised to permit maintenance of adequate, liquid working capital, and government antagonism to or government competition with business should be strictly avoided. The entire tax structure should be overhauled to bring about "more equitable distribution of the burden." Labor monopoly is regarded as harmful to the public interest; the purpose of legislation to control wages and hours is social, not economic. The fixing of wages by law is undesirable. Opportunity for the advancement of labor should be on the basis of ability first and length of service second. Employees should be permitted to represent themselves or to have others represent them, and should have the right *not* to join labor unions. Labor unions should be as

responsible for their acts as business concerns. Employees should have no right to prevent others from working, nor to intimidate customers. No strikes not authorized in a secret ballot by a majority of those concerned should be called. Collective negotiation to find the best possible solution of mutual problems such as wages, hours and conditions of employment should be encouraged between management and labor.

*Foreign Requirements.* The economic value of trade between the United States and other countries increases in proportion to the development of those countries. World-wide efforts to raise the standards of living of the underdeveloped peoples through the more intensive use of their natural resources are bound to be beneficial to the United States as well as to those whose opportunities are broadened. Whether capital funds are made available for such improvement through private enterprise or governmental action, or both, adequate agencies should be established to insure that they are administered with due regard for whatever obligations may be incurred in making them available. No world-wide system of money is possible, but some degree of stabilization of currencies is imperative. Each people should have access on terms of equality to the raw materials needed for its own consumption and for the development of its industry *in so far as is consistent with the national development and defense of those countries where such materials are located.* Governments are not justified in permanently protecting industries which cannot effectively stand on their own feet in competition with foreign industries. The N.A.M. report especially advises the setting up of an International Board of Trade as a fact-finding, *advisory* agency. Each participating nation would agree to notify this Board of all laws and decrees governing commerce, trade, currency, banking, foreign exchange transactions, taxation, transportation, payment of interest and principal of debts, etc. Lend-lease debts to the United States should not be cancelled but transformed into long-term loans at very low interest rates.

The voice of the United States government on peace planning has been vague. While general principles have been ex-

pounded with which few could disagree, the general conduct of foreign policy has called forth loud protests from all liberal groups.

*Political.* The President and Secretary of State envisage a general, loose, post-war international organization similar to the Pan-American Union, dominated by the four great victor powers. Controlling most of the world's raw materials and all its military might, the United States, Great Britain, China and the Soviet Union will maintain their national sovereignty and their armed forces at whatever level seems necessary to keep the peace. Whether this allegiance or confederacy of the Big-Four will lead to the inclusive organization of all peoples has never been made clear.

*Social.* The four freedoms should be available for all people.

*Economic.* Two plans have received governmental support. The first was the report of the National Resources Planning Board which advocated joint economic planning for peace by government and business. That plan was discarded in favor of the Baruch-Hancock Report on War and Post-war Adjustment Policies, accepted by the President in February of 1944. The Baruch-Hancock Report follows exclusively the "business" point of view concerning the organization of the post-war economic situation. The government should help business disentangle itself from the war as quickly as possible, and then get completely out of business and help create a favorable atmosphere for business enterprise by following a "hands-off" policy of non-interference in business matters, and by revising the tax laws. The work of demobilization should be done by a single appointee in the executive branch of the government and a single committee in the Senate and in the House. A work director should be appointed in the Office of War Mobilization to care for the human side of demobilization. A work kit should be made up explaining the procedure in the termination of war contracts. A Surplus Property Administrator should be appointed in the Office of War Mobilization, as Chairman of a Surplus Property Policy Board, to dispose of government property. The busi-

ness of disposal should be conducted "in a gold-fish bowl," with the public fully informed. The Attorney General should be on the Board in recognition of the importance of disposing of government surpluses so as to lessen monopoly. All government properties must be sold and must not—under any circumstances—compete with private business.

### Homiletical, Not Practical

All of the plans presented have a common weakness: they are homiletical rather than practical. The authors outline things as they would like them to be rather than facing present problems and thinking them through to possible solutions. Most of them provide no specific machinery by which we can move from where we are to where we want to be. Further, they are out of balance, each group emphasizing that which concerns it most rather than presenting a universal solution. Further, it must be noted that these plans, or rather statements of principle, lose relevance because actually the groups enunciating them often do not practice them. Thus we must question the desire of the N.A.M. to destroy monopoly when we remember that a major part of the support of the N.A.M. comes from industries which are monopolistic and undoubtedly will remain so. Nevertheless, there are areas of general agreement, and some of these are significant.

*Political.* There is an extraordinary degree of unanimity among religious, labor and business groups concerning the need for international agencies to keep the peace. But this is made almost meaningless by the lack of any clear understanding of the crucial issue of what *kind* of agencies are needed—whether a new balance of power *alliance*, a world *confederacy* in which national sovereignty is maintained and outlaw *states coerced*, or a world federation under law with a police force operating on *individuals*. The church declares for a federal structure and labor for a democratic federalism; but each is vague about the matter of law enforcement. Business is still more vague, and presumably would continue the colonial structure as at present. Government seems pledged to a new alliance of the Big-Four with the maintenance of national sovereignty and the setting up of machin-

ery to coerce aggressive states in the future. How conflicts between the Big-Four themselves are to be avoided or settled remains a mystery.

### Monopolies Still Control

*Social.* The church and the C.I.O. were the only groups to face the vital problem of the social bases of peace.

*Economic.* Both the church and labor are agreed that there should be over-all economic planning with government, business and labor cooperating for reconversion and full employment. The church, in addition, expressed the belief that we should experiment with private, public and cooperative ownership of the means of production. Business believed that the problems of reconversion and production planning are the responsibility of business alone and that—once disentangled from the war—business can plan for a prosperous post-war world without government or labor interference. The President's acceptance of the Baruch-Hancock Report, and his appointment of William L. Clayton, a notorious monopolist, as Surplus Property Administrator, seem to indicate that the business point of view will prevail and that almost complete control of the post-war economic situation will be in the hands of the great corporations which have consolidated their economic power through the war situation.

### Three Questions Remain

*Conclusion.* The great questions confronting us are three: Will we, on the basis of our own experience, in planning an international organization form a *federalism* with coercion applied against individual lawbreakers, a *confederacy* with coercion applied against whole states, or just another *alliance*? Will we reaffirm and begin to practice the principles of social equality implicit in the idea of democracy and in the Christian faith? Will we allow the voice of business alone to plan the post-war economic future, or will labor, the consumer, business, the farmer, the professions, and other interest groups share equally, under the leadership of government, in planning the national and international economic future? What will America's answer be?

## Planning: Economic Aspects

By HARVEY O'CONNOR

Social and economic planning on a world scale depends on the creation of a world government. That obviously is not in the cards, with nationalism running rampant around the globe.

We may expect, then, to see an approach along tentative lines toward the concept of planning for this planet's two billion people. Nations, hugging the mantle of sovereignty around their fearful bodies, will stick their toes in the water hoping for the best and fearing the worst. A valiant minority will carry the banner for international planning and eventually will win only when it becomes obvious that planlessness yields poverty and war. This bitter lesson will be learned not only from learned academicians, and from articles in magazines of good will, but mainly from the rough experience of life. When the victory is won the learned men and the men of good will may share worthily in the credit.

The post-war world will be dominated economically by the United States, the greatest naval power, and the USSR, the greatest military power.

We may expect, peering into the dim future, that our own land will revert to a modified form of private enterprise, i.e. modified planlessness, with the government scuttling, a la Baruch and Hancock, out of economic controls as quickly as may be done with decency. In the post-war period the government's role at best will be to serve as a cushion for the X quantity of the unemployed. This it may do by the cheapest route of furnishing enough relief to keep body and soul of the jobless and their dependents together, or it may espouse a program of compensatory public works which would strike out somewhat more boldly. It may even expand the TVA idea, but the custodians of the free enterprise system will allow little more, except under extreme pressure of, say, 15 to 20 million unemployed.

Great Britain will also revert to a system of private enterprise with greater emphasis on state controls. Millions of

the British never "recovered" from the First World War, and they do not relish the prospect of the dole lasting until the time of the Third World War or come the revolution. The idea of public enterprise has made a deep impression upon them and we may expect considerable experimentation along those lines.

In the land of the Soviets public enterprise will continue to expand after the war. The Russians do not look forward to unemployment, the dole, compensatory public works or other concomitants of free enterprise. Under their system finance is the handmaiden of men and of resources, and not the mistress. Given labor and materials, the Russians can do whatever job they set themselves to.

### Can the "Big Three" Co-operate?

Will it be possible for these three great nations to co-operate in the post-war period along lines of international social and economic planning? Obviously, yes. Lend-lease underscores the possibility. The work of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission\* in grappling with basic problems of the British and U. S. West Indies illustrates in microcosm what can be done on the grand scale.

The diplomatic conferences at Moscow, Cairo and Teheran have laid the groundwork for fruitful cooperation after the war. The Soviets, under a stable government, can be depended upon to do their share. For ourselves, planning for peace and prosperity after the war is more a political matter than economic and therefore outside the scope of this article. If isolationist-imperialists win the election, then to speak of world cooperation is poppycock. The American Navy will be waved at the Red Army and the British will balance themselves precariously somewhere in the middle. That prospect would be pregnant with war if it were possible for world's number one navy to enter into combat with world's number one army. Fortunately no way has yet been discovered to stage a battle between an army and a navy.

Fearful creatures, chattering over their own phobias, tell us of the inevitable Soviet-American war, of the death

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\*Report of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, 1942-43, State Department, Washington, D. C. Free.

grapple between socialism and capitalism. Almost joyful in their gloom, they see die-hard Tories battling India to mutual ruin. They are the same types who in this country gloat over the prospects of a capital-labor war that will make Haymarket and Homestead seem a mere shindig.

If we cherish the prospect of catastrophe we can perhaps make such nightmares come true. But it is hard to imagine a conservative congress and an administration, come next January, that would not look around the world, discover a few of the facts of life, and settle down to some kind of neighborly relations with the Soviets and the British, the Hottentots and the Thailanders. Men of reason, whether they are addicted to private or public enterprise, whether their mental processes are labelled conservative or progressive, can agree — have already agreed in fact — on a few post-war essentials.

### New Fashioned Imperialism

First is America's expansion in the Pacific on a neo-imperialist basis. One does not need to be a jingo to acknowledge that America, as World's Naval Power number one will be preeminent in the world's most expansive ocean, and in the seas of the Western Hemisphere. China, the East Indies, Brazil, are pearls in the world's oyster, awaiting the opening. They need railways, highways, steel mills, airports, harbors.

The old-fashioned imperialist talks about the Pacific in terms of naval bases. The new-fashioned Fortune-Time-Lifers speak in terms of finance, trade. The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (AFL) think of training construction crews for work abroad. There will be naval bases, finance and commerce and serving them will be hundreds of thousands of Americans, some in uniform, some in work clothes. Part of this imperialism may be naked and ugly if we are unwise; most of it can be distinctly on the uplift side.

The uplift will consist of millions of jobs for American workers, billions in profit for American business, billions in improvements for the nations across the seas — a generation of hopeful activity.

The economics involved is fairly simple. In war we burn up the surplus we do not permit our own people to consume. In the post-war period, instead of sitting on our hands, we shall export the surplus we do not want our own people to consume. There will be talk of loans and credits, but hard-headed people will look the other way when the day comes for repayment of principal. The alternative is an empty imperialism in the Pacific, bristling with guns and naval bases, but no markets.

### Russia's Post-War Leadership

Another fact in the post-war world is the leadership of the Soviets on the Eurasian continent. While our engineers improve China's ports, build great factories in the far Pacific and raise the standard of living of a billion people, the Soviet engineers will be moving on the great land masses of China with similar aims in mind. The two great powers will accommodate themselves to cooperation, the more so as conflict will be difficult. The Soviets will not march armies under the guns of our navy; nor can we mobilize millions of soldiers in the interior of Asia.

The new imperialism will not have the hateful features of the old. It will work with the developing nationalist governments of the socalled backward nations. It will understand that you deal with customers by donning gloves rather than brass knuckles. To speak of "exploitation" when we are peacefully lend-leasing billions in real wealth to less fortunate peoples is to be ironical. By the time this war is over the principles of world cooperation will be well learned.

The Japanese will have discovered that their "China incident" was the most disastrous in their history. The British will ruefully review the sour effects of their Indian policy in delaying victory. For ourselves, we probably learned more from the little "bandit" Sandino of Nicaragua in regard to the Good Neighbor Policy than our pulpits will ever teach us; for he turned the hatred of most of our continent against the colossus of the North. That hatred paid no dividends.

The new imperialism assures us of a decade or a gener-

ation of peace and reasonable prosperity. It will help backward nations to evolve to our own level of productivity, unemployment, social security and restlessness. In the process our citizenry will have time to ponder, without too disastrous consequences, the fruits of the private enterprise system. For all its blessings, private enterprise carries handicaps: slums both urban and rural, a heavy incidence of unemployment; a premium on anti-social thought and living; a commercial brassiness that tarnishes what it touches; an aimlessness in life that gives perennial food for sermons.

### Post-War Impatience

In the post-war period, as we feel our way toward social and economic planning, we can ponder the relative virtues of private and public enterprise. Do we prefer Commonwealth & Southern to TVA? Are the Jane Addams Houses preferable to the Halsted Street slums? Is Gary, Indiana our dream city? Do we really like to admit that "the normal float of the unemployed" is 5,000,000?

We will not be permitted too long a period to ponder these questions. Terminal facilities for thought processes will be provided by domestic and foreign exigencies.

Impatience among our own people will end the recurrence of economic blight. Twice in a single generation we have proved that we can operate our mines, mills and factories at 100 percent capacity. Twice we have had lack of manpower rather than surplus. The dread memories of 1930-38 pall the nation's mind.

These factors combine to point the way to either of two roads: positively we can advance along the lines of social and economic planning to raise the standard of living of Americans and non-Americans; or negatively we can yield to the anti-social and uneconomic planning which is called fascism.

Neither will we be permitted to forget in the post-war period that the Russians seem to have an answer. In wartime they have shown the world how one deals with the Nazis.

In the post-war period they will be plagued not by unemployment, a crushing national debt, an unbalanced budget and general futilitarianism, but by lack of manpower and resources to do as quickly as they wish the jobs they have set for themselves. Their problems will arise from having too much work to do, not too little. People plagued by such problems grow strong in solving them. Our people will begin to look hopefully toward the economic system which provides too much work instead of too little, just as they look with wonder and awe at a social system which produces soldiers and generals who mow down a hundred Nazis while we with greatest difficulty take care of one. This is a type of communist propaganda from which Martin Dies, if he were multiplied a thousand times, cannot shield us.

### Factors That Point to Planning

Powerful forces work toward social and economic planning in America. Most thinking people believe in it. Large sections of the labor movement — representing those who have a vested interest in work and more work — are for it. The left wing of business—men such as Eric Johnston of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and Paul Hoffman of the Committee for Economic Development — realize that another depression will blitz free enterprise. The Administration has given full and hearty support, through the late National Resources Planning Board, to the concept.

Who oppose it? Shortsighted business leaders who believe that magical incantations to free enterprise alone can cope with the devilish problems of machine civilization. And their political Charley McCarthys. So also the deeply irrational impulses in human nature to which a Hitler can appeal so successfully, and the lack of understanding among us that we plan or perish.

No private group has done more to popularize the substance and technique of social and economic planning than the National Planning Association, 800 21st Street N.W., Washington 6, D.C. Courageously this group, representing business, farm and labor interests, has thought out the com-

mon approach to post-war problems. In their joint statement on the Reconversion of Industry to Peace, they have laid the pattern for the democratic, scientific approach which can ease us forward into a positive, hopeful, expanding economy.

The Twentieth Century Fund has carried the torch among thinking people. George Galloway's Planning for America, is the concise and complete record of planners' hopes. The Fund has underwritten Stuart Chase's planning studies, The Road We Are Traveling, Goals for America, The Dollar Dilemma, Tomorrow's Trade. Lewis L. Lorwin's Post-War Plans for the United Nations reviews for the world what Galloway and Chase chart for our own country. These books are available in most public libraries. So are the reports, detailed and encyclopedic, of the National Resources Planning Board, as well as the pamphlets which summarize these monumental studies in planning.

No one reviewing the literature of social and economic planning can fail to understand that we have the "know-how." The pivotal question is, have we the will?

The hangdog, the defeatist, the cynic will reject these appeals to sanity. They will speculate in the fog of their own prejudices. They will scorn those who have faith in people.

We, the people, will continue to respond to the evangelism of Henry A. Wallace. We will stumble forward. We will answer the needs of men and women for work and happiness. We will respond to the imperative demand of our machine age. Let the machines produce. Let people be busy. That will give us equality of opportunity in our pursuit of happiness.

## Planning: Political Aspects

By STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN

Many readers of this symposium remember the last war and its aftermath. They remember inflation, unemployed veterans, Palmer raids and return to an unplanned "normalcy" which proved to be the soil of a great depression. One reason for this catastrophe was political immaturity and irresponsibility on the part of John Doe and the grass roots citizens on Main Street.

Many people — many of them active in our churches — are today resolved to learn by the experiences of 1919-32. They are convinced of two basic facts: (1) depressions can come by default and inaction, but economic and social well-being come only by planning; and (2) the average citizen *must* exert himself mentally and socially which, in brief, means political responsibility. Planning for the post-war period starts now; political action begins today. Postponements lead to muddling through, and leaving democracy to "experts" ends up in Munich. It is *our* job and that of the liberal church which is, among other things, a creation of free people making tools for their salvation.

Post-war planning is a deceptive phrase for it shoots one's mind into the future, while in cold reality it begins right now. Our political behaviour in June 1944 determines the post-war world. If we uphold price controls, voting privileges for service men, prepare for federal planning for peace-time conversion, and expand opportunities for education, health and jobs we learn *by practice*, not by blueprints alone, what political responsibility involves.

After the last war and even until today the church in America has hesitated to discuss or act as an institution of the people. But with fascists fighting our sons overseas and "fifth column" fascists fighting all of us on many sectors at home, our centers of freedom — schools, churches and labor unions — are beginning the hard way to learn the facts of democratic life. Many of us now feel that victory will present us with the chance to build the kind of America we have long talked about and to some degree worked for. The

future of the liberal church will to a large extent depend upon our collective skill in blending ethical purpose and political responsibility. Failure at this point can spell total failure in a planned people's peace as far as organized religion is concerned. This catastrophe must not for a moment be considered. Political maturity is possible for young and old within our churches. Our members are ready for far more participation in democracy and its daily obligations than they have been called upon to give. Their continued response as individuals *and as churches* — and groups within churches — to support subsidies, to fight black markets, to protect service men's civil rights, to extend more democracy, both political and economic, to the minority groups, are rich evidence of this.

### What the Millions Want

Let us summarize what most of America's millions are hoping for in post-war planning. None of these objectives are "beyond the blue horizon;" they are possibilities here and now in America.

- 1) Jobs, or a farm, or a business or profession in which one can make a decent living.
- 2) Houses that are clean, modern and properly furnished.
- 3) Healthful food, warm and well-made clothing, medical and health care.
- 4) Education for all children, and advanced schooling for those qualified by ability, not by income.
- 5) Security against unemployment, illness, old age.
- 6) Cultural and recreational opportunities for all: theatres, adult centers, parks, music festivals, etc.
- 7) Churches for all faiths, with religious worship and instruction completely separate from public institutions of the state.

The purpose in planning is to speed production and to limit suffering which will fill any vacuum resulting from an absence of planning. Only by our planning as a people now and later can large production at low prices and with reasonable profits be assured. Just as the gigantic industrial production of planes, ships, tanks and food was achieved by an over-all coalition of government, labor, agriculture and

business, so it will be after victory. Only increased understanding of this fact can prevent domestic disaster. This coalition—recognized by men like Joseph Davies, Donald Nelson and Philip Murray—will be achieved only by politically active citizens in every hamlet and city. Plans will not come out of magicians' hats; they may, and should, come out of churches. While only the federal government can act for the nation as a whole—as our war-time program both military and industrial testifies—the achievement of real planning of production of goods, services, and social well-being depends upon action *and more action* by the millions of our citizens of all races, creeds and national origins.

Political maturity for all of us in the liberal churches includes a new and fundamental cooperation with labor. The average worker is religious—as liberals understand religion—and connects the translation of Christianity into daily practice faster than anyone else. The American worker is coming of age, and the church can serve him as he can strengthen it.

Another political task for the church is that of finding a new relationship with minority groups in America, primarily with the Negro people. The church needs to include the Negro people in its life and program on a basis of complete equality. Colored people know that this war—with its guarantees of freedom—is being won by colored majorities. This fact has given the American Negro a new dignity and status. To act as though this is not true is to miss a basic opportunity in our church. We can pioneer on this political front and make a great contribution to the struggle against fascism.

### **Eleven Million Men vs. Fascism**

Here then are specific planks for a planned American economy. For these objectives—which can be achieved only by the destruction of fascism—eleven million men are in uniform. Other items could be added, but these we may assume are the minimum of hopes men with tommy guns in foxholes cherish as they fight a terrifying war. On the home front we stand, far less in risk of life and limb, with another weapon in our hands—political participation.

We can by study and decisive action here on our Main

Streets, in our churches—as an example—meet and defeat the peril of inflation. It threatens our post-war world of planned production like a devastating plague. Inflation can destroy the unity of the people and end effectively the war effort. Inflation can spawn strikes, multiply black markets, divide town and country, split wide apart the soldier and the worker. As one young writer has warned, “We can lose both our shirts and our democracy.” The skeptic need only read with open eyes the rise of Hitler to his tyrant’s throne. The first casualties of inflation would be old people, folks on small dividends and annuities; then our young people shorn of parental savings for their education; then the office workers and factory employees with social security cut in half; then the soldier with his careful savings gone.

### Inflation, One of the Battles

The church stands for the community as a whole, and for the long-run view. That is why grasping the peril of inflation, and teaching men how to act against it, is the church’s job. When a senator stands up to say—as one from the mid-west did a few weeks ago—“a little bit of inflation wouldn’t do us any harm,” the liberal church, free of party, class or sectarian prejudice, must say “our business is community, our product solidarity; you threaten it with economic violence. It must not be allowed.” The church has work to do *politically* to stop inflation, and, as the first step in planning for a free and democratic America, the church can hold discussions, pass resolutions, write letters, send delegations to congressmen. To support subsidies and far greater taxes now, is to protect living and health standards for a whole generation. It is to take seriously the precepts of Amos, Jesus, Ambrose, Huss and Parker, who shared the burdens of the common people. They believed in action even without benefit of telephone and radio to speed their words around the planet, or the greater aid of organized and potent groups who know the power of a people’s government to make their plans come true.

The example of inflation was chosen because within the domestic scene it illustrates the kind of problem a “concerned” church can act upon with real effectiveness. Sup-

porting price controls, reporting black markets, visiting a congressman on an adequate tax bill—these are actions any church from Seattle to Searsport can undertake. If a group of men and women with vision and courage in a church act on this again and again, as they must to be successful, they will limber up their civic muscles for the arduous labors of post-war planning. This means instructing their government, through its representatives, to plan with foresight the post-war conversion of production, to extend federal educational opportunities to returning service men, to plan for full production as the source of jobs for millions returning from war, as well as millions of new women workers who will wish to remain in industry. Churches have long cared for the products of such planning—happy and healthy citizens free of insecurity neuroses and panic fears—but only now in any real way are Methodists and Presbyterians and Unitarians teaching by precept and example that “morality is only a frivolous science if it is not combined with politics and legislation.”

### Excelling Our Ancestors

We are just emerging from the horse and buggy period in political action. Any visit, such as Edgar Snow takes to China or Albert Rhys Williams to Russia or Edwin Goodell to England, brings fresh evidence that planning for a free people, under various economies and governments, calls for a level of education and participation that puts to shame not only the level achieved by Emerson and Garrison, but also the level achieved by Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt. We have a long way to go in getting schools, churches and labor unions—to mention three groups growing up rapidly today—to play their part.

This is the kind of a war that teaches fighting populations, with the smoke of warfare in their nostrils, that schools, congresses, churches, newspapers and unions are as valuable national assets as mines, forests and oil lands. This realization has come into the heads of Tito's guerilla armies in Yugoslavia, to young Australians faced with Japanese invasion, to boys from Brooklyn fighting in the rubble of Cassino.

It is thus that our churches, in helping us as citizens attain

maturity for the planning that must come, can do many things. They can goad our government into continuing its co-operation with Britain, China and Russia. They can acquaint their members with the text-books, values and moral attitudes of these three nations. They can show the things shared in common: co-operation, social needs of the people, cultural and scientific achievements. An active Catholic layman, Mayor Maurice J. Tobin of Boston, recently urged as a post-war arrangement, the exchange of students between Russia and the United States. This is a cell in the organism of world planning. The aim of such study of major nations is not conversion of one by the other, but mutual existence with guarantees of freedom and peace.

The United Nations is a vast political reality for every citizen. The emergence of non-white, non-Saxon peoples into a position of equality and dignity brings us into a new period of world history. Our American way of life—including camps in the country, Pullman cars and vacations with pay—has been saved by peasants and workers in Eastern Europe and Asia. In the process they have won a new importance politically. For us to think of them as backward peoples is to reverse the clock. We are their debtors in a colossal spiritual lend-lease, which the church should be the first to acknowledge. Abad-Santos and his Unitarian guerrillas in the Philippines, are missionaries *to us* of militant democracy, and our future depends upon our knowing it.

### **The Vanguard of Liberation**

Another example of the need for political action by Americans at the moment is a deeper grasp of the meaning of Europe's and Asia's resistance movements: the French underground, the Balkan guerillas, the Dutch, Czechoslovakians, Belgians and others. And because millions of living men and women in these resistance movements are risking everything, political action by Americans urging fulfilment of the Teheran pledges is a moral responsibility. A church that is silent or inactive in supporting these allies now within Fortress Europe is a church delinquent in imagination and ethical power. These warriors of the show-down and the wrecking crew are tomorrow's European democratic lead-

ers. Little wonder priests march beside workers and farmers in Tito's mountain army. Here is the vanguard of a liberated people. A priest anywhere else would be forgotten. This is the kind of political acuteness Thomas Jefferson would have understood. The black-robed father with his musket and his rosary is more in tune with a people's bill of rights than is the minister cloistered with his books when the anti-fascist struggle demands that he should lead a delegation to his wayward congressman.

#### A Fascist is Known by his Deeds

This is a religious duty. Fascism believes in eternal war and denies equality to men. It denies religious values by freezing class divisions as eternal in society. We must, if politically mature, fight fascism harder both in battle and in the public mind. This means many things. It means building up, through a coalition of free nations, the living standards of Poland, Korea, Roumania and Greece, as well as up-grading skilful Negro workers in the factories of Detroit and Alabama. This is post-war planning in the concrete. It begins at this eleventh hour of history, and it starts in churches, in union halls, and classrooms. It flourishes wherever plain and simple citizens discover friendship in motion, or quell an anti-Jewish riot on the streets of Boston or protest a crusade against the C.I.O. by Martin Dies.

The fascist on the home front often comes from four generations of American life, wears a Sears Roebuck suit and uses familiar ideas like "freedom of enterprise" and "white supremacy" as his text. A fascist, whatever his mask of Americanism, is known by his deeds against the people, his sabotage of the war effort, his zeal for discrediting labor, his hatred of colored citizens, his campaign against popular government. Every liberal church should include in its program talks on how to know a fascist in our midst.

Post-war planning is far more than picking blueprints from the shelves of Mr. Carnegie's libraries under the elms of countless villages. It is a growing sense of pledged co-operation by the millions now at work for victory, who will not tolerate division, hatred, planlessness or fear. Their name is legion and the opportunity to serve them with a people's marching church is in our hands awaiting our decision.

## Planning: Social Aspects

By EVERETT MOORE BAKER

A few weeks ago a friend of mine met a group of small boys playing on a sidewalk in a congested area of Cleveland. They were under suspicion for "lifting" goods from the ten-cent store. He stopped to talk with them.

"What do you fellows want most of all?" he asked.

"A place to play indoors, when it's cold, and big enough for hard, rough games. A place for our club."

"Do you all belong to a club? What kind of a club?"

"Sure, we have a club, a swell club! A commando club."

"A commando club? What do you do in a commando club?"

"Oh, we just gang up and command all the other kids in the neighborhood!"

Everyone who knows anything about the conditions existing in most American cities today is fully aware of the great danger of defeat on the home front while we win military victories abroad.

The very thing we are fighting against the world around—"ganging up and commanding the other kids"—we are encouraging at home by inadequate corrective programs based on well developed planning for the kind of society we know we want.

The rapid increase in juvenile delinquency is bad enough, but what it foreshadows ten to fifteen years hence when the war is over, and we go through another period of readjustment, is much worse. The fact that there are millions of children receiving sub-standard education in America today is bad enough, but what that foreshadows for a free country, in the free world for which we strive, should prod us toward more inclusive plans for social living in the years ahead. Our accomplishments as free men in a free country in the planning and management of a war have demonstrated beyond any doubt that people can work together, that cooperation is a practical social pattern, that plans can be made and carried out on gigantic scales even in war time, without any great loss of the individual freedoms we have known.

Our task now is to maintain the freedoms we have, which in a large measure are freedoms *from* state authority, and by intelligent social planning develop not only the new freedoms *from*, that have been suggested by our political leaders, but also the freedoms *for* a new and richer cooperative world where there shall be no more of the domination of the weak by the strong that has been characteristic of the imperialism and economy of the past.

Among the many well conceived plans for world organization and order there is one all important factor which some overlook but which will determine the future of human society. Any plan which includes a permanent "ganging-up" to command the "other kids" is doomed to failure. No city-state, sovereign nation, empire or sphere of influence made strong by the ganging-up of some members of the total human family in order to command some others has ever lasted long. Every one has either disintegrated because of the inability of some of its members to "command" others within its own political structure, or because of its inability to "command" the members of other sovereign groups or subject peoples from whom it intended to derive benefit. The history of what we call "civilization" is a constant repetition of this "ganging-up commando game." It begins with stories of men who, believing in the rightness of their cause, bound themselves together to be strong enough to overcome their neighbors. The rules of the game have varied slightly down through the centuries. When it was played within the limits of a given battlefield it offered an interesting diversion for the common people and brought rich rewards to some. From the earliest times to the present our history tells of one "ganging-up" after another.

### Cooperation, Limited

We shall not argue for or against the theory that much of human progress — scientific developments, learning, improvements in standards of living, checking of disease and plague and development of art and literature — has been fostered and enriched by the influence of the age-old "commando game." It is enough to say that the waste has far exceeded the gain.

Planning means essentially cooperation rather than competition. The most enthusiastic spokesmen for "free-enterprise" extol cooperation. Usually, however, the cooperation is limited to those who are engaged in one industry, in one union, in one enterprise. Competition, they claim, is the essential stimulant without which there can be no progress and no enrichment of society. I will not argue that man is without a competitive spirit or that man is not stimulated by competition. He is; but man responds as readily to the influence of cooperation as he does to competition, and co-operation makes for peace and order, while competition on the international scale leads to chaos and war.

The case for cooperation in a planned social order could be argued within the limits of any one political unit. For the purposes of this symposium we shall think in terms of the world, the total human family as the unit. After all, it is high time we should. There is little chance that the people of the United States will move rapidly toward what is commonly described as a cooperative economic system. We shall more likely move further in the direction of greater government controls and regulation of our productive and commercial business, agricultural as well as industrial. Considering the magnitude and vast increases in our production in recent war years, in spite of all the difficulties, we have made remarkable adjustments to great change. This we shall probably continue to do. And within the limits of such controls as we, through our government, shall establish, there will be ample room for the *natural* competitive spirit of man and greater opportunity for his *natural* cooperative tendencies. We can probably afford to proceed slowly within the political boundaries of our own countries so far as the average small business man, worker or employer is concerned. In the larger field, however, for those industries whose natural resources and whose finished products cross political boundaries, there can be no more uncontrolled, free competition. Mankind can no longer afford the luxury of the "commando game" in international business.

It is only one step, but a long one, from the realization of the necessities for continued government controls over our domestic economic affairs to the recognition of the fact

that separate planning for the social and economic development of the many nations of the world will not solve the fundamental problems. We should have learned long ago that peace is the result of cooperation, and from now on cooperation must be world wide.

Needless to say, the establishment of a world government immediately after the end of the shooting and the bombing will be impossible. At that moment very few governments and few peoples will be ready. The rehabilitation and reeducation of some countries will take years. Vast groups of people will be totally without the means of determining their own representation in any over-all world organization, no matter what its form.

### **U.S.A., Britain, Russia, at First**

At the beginning of the new era it is likely that only the United States, Great Britain and Russia will be powerful enough, not only in terms of military strength, but also in terms of articulate, organized political opinion, to have much to say about the next step in the direction of the way of the future. And of these three, it is fair to assume that America may have the determining vote.

The immediate control and management of the world's affairs will be in the hands of these three nations. To assume, at the present time, any other possibility is to be blind to the realities of the situation in which we shall find ourselves when the military phase of the war is concluded. But to assume that these three nations, by any alliance they may conclude for themselves alone, or including China and the to-be-liberated countries of Europe, shall continue to control the world is to be equally blind to the certainty of future wars.

Some plan must be ready as a beginning, or at least the foundations upon which a plan can be developed to give to all people the opportunity to share in the management of the world's affairs.

It is of no great value to try to isolate our purposes in this war. We are determined to defeat the Nazis and destroy their philosophy of world domination. We are equally determined to conquer the Japanese military machine that began long ago to play the "commando game."

That is our first task; it is the pre-requisite to the establishment of a world structure in which there will be no "subject people," no "dependent people," no "lesser people," no "second-class citizens." If at the end of this war we do not have a plan upon which we can begin to build immediately to bring into the world family the millions of peoples of the East, of Africa, of India — the majority of the people of the world — as equals, our future is doomed.

People may think they are fighting for something less than this. Government officials, military and naval leaders, industrialists and financiers, farmers and engineers, those who seek to enrich mankind by the development of heretofore untouched natural resources, labor leaders and just plain average citizens, all have their reason for fighting this war. Most of them describe essential tasks and not ultimate purposes.

It is the function of religion to describe ultimate purposes and, therefore, the church, the organized instrument of religion, should these days be primarily concerned with plans for the social structure of the world of the future. We have suggested in broad outline that domination by the strong must give way to collaboration. There are innumerable points of attack. There is no front in the long fight ahead which is so well established that it can be neglected while we press the battle on some other. The advance must be made on all fronts simultaneously.

### The Four Essentials

We suggest here a few ideas that are essential to social planning of the post war world. These we describe in terms of our own political and social structure because we must make our own plans for the solution of our own problems, even though similar plans for similar problems must be made by other people of the world. It is not too much to assume that ours may stimulate others.

1. The greatest problem awaiting our solution is the one resulting from our failure to recognize that the white citizens of the United States may not play the "commando game" and "gang-up" to command the Negroes forever. The day of reckoning has come. The game is over. We have already

accomplished much, but not enough. The Negro must be assured equal opportunity for education and employment. Our customs of segregation and discrimination because of race alone must be changed. All planning for the future must include, step by step, the means whereby "colonial people" of color may be brought into the world community as equals and the Negroes of America may gain, in the very near future, opportunities equal to those of their white neighbors.

2. Closely associated with this problem is our anti-semitism. Here also the plans we develop are, of course, only a part of a world-wide program. Broadly speaking, the Jews are not the problem. The Jewish population of Ohio, for example, is only about three percent of the total; of Illinois, five percent; of New York, seventeen percent, the only state with more than six and one-half percent. There are twenty-five states where the Jewish population is less than one percent and only seven in which it is more than four percent. The problem is rather one of education of the gentile community, especially that portion of it which calls itself "Christian." Anti-semitism is a social disease and must be eliminated by the destruction of the virus in the "Christian" community.

3. The third major problem that calls for long range planning is our own educational system. The war has greatly intensified our development of extremely highly trained skills, difficult to acquire. We have created thousands upon thousands of mechanics, electricians, pilots, bombardiers, navigators, machine operators, tool makers and a vast number of other highly trained workers. Of necessity, we have had to postpone our education in the art of thinking. We have not been training citizens capable of understanding and controlling their own destiny. We must begin now to plan for curricula in schools and colleges, and fully as important, in new adult education programs, which will build upon the skills developed by men and women who have served in the armed forces the knowledge and wisdom necessary for the fulfillment of responsibilities of citizenship. With a reported 3,000,000 children who are today not getting the minimum normally required education in our country,

the task ahead will test the sincerity of our professed war purposes. Freedom of the individual in a government like ours depends upon the wisdom of the individual to choose qualified representatives. Wisdom is the most valuable fruit of education.

4. There is another phase of post war social organization that will require the support of a strong majority of citizens: the planned production of consumers' goods. This is really an economic problem and should be considered elsewhere in this symposium. There are, however, purely social aspects of the problem. In the production and distribution of goods there has been in our country and in the world a high degree of competition. Much good has resulted, and much harm and waste. We can no longer afford the waste. It is not likely that we shall have any adequate over-all planning unless it be done through our own government. Similarly, it is not likely that there can be any adequate over-all planning for world production and distribution unless there be some over-all "government" to control or manage the international phases of production and distribution. On this matter there will be a vast difference of opinion. The determining answer may be found in the discovery of the fact that man is a social being and is as ready to cooperate as he is to compete, and in the further fact that in cooperation for the production of the means of his livelihood he finds opportunities for the expression of his finer instincts.

His own government is the natural agency for the organization of this phase of man's social living. Actually it is nothing more than the expression of his cooperative endeavors. We have learned much through the experiences of war; we have accomplished much. We may very likely enter the post-war period with a heavy carry-over of war time confusion. But given the simpler tasks of a peace time economy, the cooperative method of government regulation, control or management of production and distribution may be found desirable.

Only by some such plan on a world wide as well as national scale can we put an end to the old "commando game."

## Planning: Religious Aspects

By LESLIE T. PENNINGTON

We are confronted with the mightiest marshalling of military power in world history. It touches every phase of our common life—economic, political, social, religious. While for the sake of clarity we consider these aspects separately, in doing so we must realize that they are essentially inter-related, parts of one inter-connected whole. Religion, in particular, must reckon with this inter-connected whole. If religion is the heart of our personal and social life, we must remember that the heart can have no life dissociated from the structure of the living body.

We shall not here consider the claims of absolute religious pacifism. We shall consider religion in its relation to the social, political and economic structure of our common life—a going concern, torn now by tragic and hideous strife. And we shall not consider war and peace as isolated phenomena in history, but as different aspects in the same historical process. The task of religion is so to shape the processes of history that peace may emerge out of and permanently triumph over the conditions of war.

Beginning, therefore, with this marshalling of military power toward victory of the United Nations, we need behind, within, around and before it the marshalling of spiritual power so great, so sustained, so steadily increasing day by day, month by month, year by year, that the marshalling of military power will be dwarfed before it, will fall into its proper place. Without this marshalling of spiritual power, undergirding our united effort in this strife, overshadowing it, informing it, guiding it, transcending it, redeeming it, victory—however soon, however late, however great its awful cost—can bring no peace, can bring no assurance, can bring no promise of a better age to come.

For such a task we shall need the deepest and most inclusive resources of religion and of civilization. We are confronted with a need much greater than any of us alone can meet. Fortunately there are available to meet this need, re-

sources much greater than those possessed by any one of us alone, by any sect, by any division of Christendom, by Christendom as a whole, by any one of the world's great faiths. We shall need them all. Confronted with global strife, we must marshal global resources to overcome it. In no field is this so imperative as in religion; for in religion lie the ultimate resources of civilization.

### The Peril of Abstraction

Imperative as it is for us to think in universal and inclusive terms, we must at the same time guard against the peril of abstraction. Living religion is not an abstraction; it is a body of traditions, beliefs, discriminations and practices with all their emotional overtones and undertones, in the full culture of the living religious community. In this sense religion is particular. A given religion may have universal principles and aspirations, but even they have root in its historical and cultural particularity. This is why, with all our concern for the universal, our search for the united power of our religious resource should always begin with the particular in religion. The same word should be said to the faithful of all high religions: cultivate deeply your own native garden, but in it cultivate with special care those elements which are universal, and root out the weeds of the narrow, the exclusive, the sectarian.

For most of us in America, first-hand and inside knowledge of the full culture of a particular religion will of necessity be limited to Christianity or Judaism. Belonging to the same family of religion, these two hold much in common. Our knowledge of other religions is likely to be academic. This does not mean that we should not be interested in them. Quite the contrary. But we should begin with the immediate and the known, and work toward the unknown. We should make sure that we know first the profundity, the depth, and the richness of our own particular religion. Without such knowledge of our own, we are likely to skim superficially over unsuspected depths in other religions.

When we appraise our own native religion to discover those elements pertinent to world planning, we must bear in

mind the full richness and depth of its historical genesis. I shall refer to it as the Judeo-Christian religion. Even in using such an inclusive term, we must bear in mind that Christianity from its origin, and later Judaism, was fertilized by elements of Greek thought. We must think of Judeo-Christian religion as it has been influenced by the Renaissance, the Reformation, the democratic, scientific, industrial and economic Revolutions of modern time. Only as we understand it in its relation to these forces can we know its full pertinence to our need for an ordered world.

### Five Elements of Faith

The elements of this faith pertinent to world planning are:

1. *Ethical monotheism.* It was the ethical monotheism of Judeo-Christian religion which was chiefly responsible for its impact and enduring vitality amid the decadence of the Graeco-Roman world. This has been the chief source of its vitality and its chief value in history; and in this it meets the deepest need of the modern world. Beyond all relative human values it insists that there is an objective and universal moral order indigenous to human nature in its relation to the ultimate spiritual resources of the world.

2. *Man's Share in Creation.* Man is called to share in creation, the life-making activity of God; and the highest expression of creation is love—the love of God, the love of man, and their constant interaction.

3. *The Significance of the Individual.* As a child of God and a potential channel of God's spirit, each individual is an end in himself. In the words of Ralph Barton Perry, "using the term 'individual' to refer to the ultimate unit of human nature, the *finality* of the individual then means that he is the seat of good and the source of power . . . Christianity is fundamentally a religion of souls. That the created universe should center in his spiritual fortunes is the most awful dignity to which the individual man has ever been raised by human thought."

4. *The Need of Fellowship.* For the highest development

and life of the individual, community is required—community founded upon equal justice for all—inwardly sustained and renewed by the creative spirit of love, outwardly based upon the institutions of law ever revised and perfected to meet the needs of man amid social change and maintained by protective force.

5. *Creation, a Continuing Process.* Creation is a continuing process, expressing itself both in the inward fulfillment of individuals, and in the emergence of new life-fulfilling patterns in society and in history. Liberty is the inter-action between the creative inward fulfillment of individuals and these emerging patterns of mutual life-fulfillment in society and in history. Liberty, therefore, has its root in religion, the inter-action between the soul and God, of the community of souls with one another and with God. But it can only come to perfect flower when the organized structure of community—religious, social, political, economic—is inwardly shaped by it to the reciprocities and patterns of mutual fulfillment. It points to a free church in a free state in a free world. It must be remembered, however—that freedom lies not in separateness, but in the reciprocities, the mutualities, the inter-relatedness of a comprehensive structure.

### The Three-Fold Task

In the light of these principles our task is three-fold: (1) the intensive cultivation of these principles among our own people; (2) the development of programs by which they can be brought effectively to bear upon the ecclesiastical, social, political and economic evolution of our own nation in its relation to other nations in forming world organization; (3) our union with the peoples of other living religious faiths who share these principles and are willing to unite with us in the fulfillment of (1) and (2).

The first two points constitute the framework of an immediate practical program. The third is more remote, theoretical, exploratory. It is, however, imperative in a final program of world planning, and therefore an essential con-

sideration in our program implementing the first two. We should begin our practical program now, in such a way as not to jeopardize the third, and meanwhile explore it as rapidly as possible. Such exploration, however, should not be allowed to impede our immediate program, for time is of its essence. Our hope for an all-inclusive working union of world faiths must not delay our immediate application of our own faith. And without any desire to impose the particularities of our own faith upon the peoples of other faiths, we should let it be known that we believe these principles to be not only universal, but fundamental. Only as other faiths agree on some or all of these fundamentals can we enter into genuine partnership with them in world planning for peace.

### Barriers to Planning

There is much good in the principles and programs for world planning put forward by various religious bodies. Their combined weight is one of the most promising elements in the present world situation. This much, however, must be said: any program presented by any religious group, Protestant, World Council of Churches, or Roman Catholic, which carries with it essentially the substitution of the particularities of one faith for those of all other faiths, is ruled out of bounds by the above analysis. Any assumption that the universal principles which must underlie world planning for peace are the exclusive possessions of any one particular faith is itself a barrier to the achievement of world peace. We feel the cutting edge of this principle most intensely when it is applied to the traditional presuppositions of our own faith. Those who say we can never achieve world peace until all peoples of the world have become Christian, erect an insuperable barrier against the peace which they desire.

This is why existing inter-faith statements are our surest clue to the religious aspects of world planning. There have been two major inter-faith statements. In December, 1940, there appeared in England the famous "Letter to the London Times," signed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, by Cardinal Hinsley of the Catholic Church, and by the

Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council of Britain. The following year it was amplified into a joint statement also endorsed by the Chief Rabbi of Great Britain. The statement was not an integrated statement, but a compendium of statements already made by these bodies.

Much more significant, integrated and far-reaching is the American "Catholic, Jewish and Protestant Declaration on World Peace" issued on November 7, 1942. This statement was signed by fifty national Protestant leaders, forty-seven Catholic, and forty-seven Jewish. Never before in history has such an impressive and inclusive body of religious leaders of three faiths been united in such a statement and — beyond its intrinsic merit — it is this which gives it its chief significance. While separate preambles prevent this from being a "joint" declaration in the full technical meaning of that word, they are surprisingly free from exclusive claims, and they prepare the way for the concurrent declaration of the principles pertinent to world peace held in common by the three faiths.

The inclusion of the Jews on equal footing is significant not only because it occurs in the face of one of the most barbaric persecutions in history, and because the statement affirms the common principles of our Judeo-Christian faith; but because, as an inter-faith statement, it is an entering wedge against the exclusive claims of Christianity, opening the way toward still wider inter-faith cooperation in world planning.

### Catholicism Presents a Problem

The concurrence of Roman Catholic leaders in this declaration adds greatly to its significance, but at the same time raises very fundamental questions with regard to the historic policy of the Roman Catholic Church. The elements of that policy which concern us here are its supra-national authoritarian control; its assumption that it is *The Christian Church*, recognizing as valid the claims of no other Christian body; its claim and its exercise of temporal power, over against our American democratic policy of the separation of church and state; its willingness to temporize with reactionary

economic and political regimes, to form active alliance even with the forces of fascism.

Together these form grave barriers to the reciprocities of inter-faith cooperation in world planning for peace, so grave that some consider them to be insuperable. The exclusiveness of the Roman Catholic Church, however — as well as its unity—lies in matters of Faith and Order. In the vast areas of Life and Work it may be contended that the Roman Catholic Church is not exclusive enough, not enough unified. So long as its own existence is not threatened, it is at times tolerant of almost every variety of cultural, political and economic trend in human society. While as a Church it does not yield to the reciprocities of religious groups, in matters of life and work its representatives are allowed an amazing latitude and present a wide diversity.

Beyond cooperation with the leaders of Roman Catholicism in matters of life and work there always lurks the shadow of absolute hierarchical authority. We can never be sure how far cooperation will be allowed to go, or to what ends it will be used by the hierarchy. This should be clearly understood both by the leaders of other faiths and by the Roman Catholics themselves.

Amid the reciprocities of democracy the Roman Catholic Church is a force which we dare not underestimate, which may accomplish unmeasured good, but which, considering its historic record, requires eternal vigilance on the part of those who believe in the full democratic implications of Christianity. And it may well be that the future of the Roman Catholic Church itself rests with that party within it which would enter into the full reciprocities of democratic society. It is significant that this declaration has been wrought in the context of American democracy. It may be prophetic of forces which will save the Roman Catholic Church from itself, for itself and for the world.

Such considerations lead inevitably to the question of Soviet Russia in relation to the religious aspects of world planning. Whatever her status in religion, Russia, the Russian people, the Soviet order, and the faith which shaped

it, must be taken into account in any adequate program of world planning for peace, either secular or religious.

Soviet Russia, like the Roman Catholic Church, is a highly integrated order, but with a secular, rather than a religious center. A country which has passed directly into economic equalitarianism through political, economic and industrial revolution, without benefit of the Renaissance, the Reformation or the earlier democratic revolutions, is particularly difficult to appraise. Behind her dictatorship and her one party system there is cultural and social pluralism, a much-discussed democratic constitution and a tendency toward decentralization. Behind her anti-religious crusade there is not only a growing movement toward the liberation of religion, even behind Communism itself there may prove to be an inarticulate major premise not unlike that of our own religious faith. From her inception Soviet Russia has existed on a war psychology. What will emerge as it becomes possible for her to disentangle herself from this war psychology it is impossible to say.

### Has Russia Liberty at Heart?

Enthusiasm for her heroic morale, her resurgent nationalism, her resource and her technological efficiency should not blind us to the deeper issues of religious principle and spirit. We have learned from contemporary history how treacherous these things alone can be. There is as yet no evidence that dialectical materialism and nationalism, however intense, is sufficient base for national character or for a civilization. As Judge Learned Hand has said, "We Americans believe that if it may be idle to seek the Soul of Man outside Society, it is certainly idle to seek Society outside the Soul of Man." What we want to know of Russia is whether with her strength she carries liberty at her heart, liberty and the justice of mutual fulfillment for other peoples as well as for her own, whether she is sufficiently nerved by an adequate universal faith in which we all may share.

But there can be no virtue in regarding Soviet Russia as a fixed quantity, inflexible, incapable of growth amid the

reciprocities of a world community, in building barriers against her either in the name of religion or of democracy. We have much to learn of her, and she of us. We must by the good faith of our own conduct elicit from her, as from the Roman Catholic Church, that reciprocity which leads to mutual growth and mutual fulfilment in an unfolding structure of world community. Above all, those who love liberty and peace must not allow themselves to be maneuvered into a forced choice between the secular authoritarianism of Communism and the religious authoritarianism of Rome.

Returning now to the three-faith Declaration on World Peace, it must be said that at certain points the text is not so strong or so clear as we might wish. All things considered, however, it is one of the most momentous agreements among the leaders of American religious thought in history; and it constitutes a landmark for all who would chart the way toward world planning through inter-faith cooperation.

As a point of departure it has the further value of showing how much must be done beyond such a declaration of principle if we are to have adequate world planning. Between these principles and the specific decisions and acts which will shape our policy as a nation — and determine its course in history — there is a chain of many links and the chain may break at any one of them.

### Do They Mean What They Say?

*First*, do these religious leaders really mean what they say? Will they be satisfied with the declaration and leave it at that, or are they deeply enough in earnest to implement it by showing the peoples whom they lead, specific ways of action in the fulfillment of these principles?

*Second*, will their people really follow them? It is safe to say that their leadership in religion represents an overwhelming majority of the citizens of the United States who wield decisive influence in public life. Will their people follow or repudiate their leadership in signing this declaration? Will the people pay lip-service to it, as they did to religious leadership twenty-five years ago, and never trans-

late it into deeds? Will the determining force in their conduct prove to be other than religious — the desire for profit, fear, prejudice, some wave of popular emotion, political expediency, some new longing for the fleshpots of normalcy?

*Third*, if these leaders stand firm in the position which they have taken and lead on to show the way, and if their people are resolute to follow, will they be realistic enough in the fields of politics and practical affairs to make sure that their will is done? Will the break come between the people and their chosen political representatives?

This war has been called a people's war; our only hope of deliverance lies in a people's peace, a peace shaped to the resolute will of the people. "History," writes Ralph Barton Perry, "is made by those who make up their minds; provided they exist in sufficient numbers, provided they act promptly, resolutely, and unitedly, and provided they select the most improved instruments." Can religion move people deeply enough, gather and implement their collective will skilfully and realistically enough, to shape history toward enduring peace?

To do so, it must be greatly deepened in our individual communions and parish churches, in the character and will of our individual men and women. Much of this consideration of religious principles pertinent to world planning never passes the threshold of declarations, and is limited to a few leaders at the top and a small active minority of our people. To be effective it must be carried to the great mass of our people and issue in programs of specific action.

### **Peace Movements Lack Follow-Through**

The secular peace movements possess excellent minority leadership, but they lack adequate continuing body. The religious groups in America have body in the great mass of the people, excellent minority leadership in the field of world peace; but as yet they have found no way to relate that leadership effectively to that body through the organized structure of the local parish church and community.

The Bishops' Crusade of the Methodist Church is one of the most interesting experiments yet tried. Apparently it carries the issue deeply into every parish church, including a sustained treatment in the program of religious education. We can get into the grass roots of the people themselves only as we create a Peace Committee in the organized structure of each parish church to plan and direct a sustained program both of study and of practical action.

### Local Inter-Faith Action

The Catholic, Jewish and Protestant Declaration on World Peace has also prepared the way for genuine inter-faith co-operation in programs of study and action on a community basis in every community throughout America. In this, leaders of the three faiths and local councils of churches, enlisting the cooperation of other peace agencies in the community, have an opportunity for pioneering in coordinated programs of study and action among their several communions and in the community at large, hardly yet begun, yet boundless in its creative possibilities. No other leadership in America is in such a strategic position to overcome fragmentation in the peace movement, and to carry home to the people the religious principles of world planning for peace. And under American democracy at this critical juncture in world affairs churchmen are in a strategic position of privilege and responsibility to lead the world in shaping the pattern for such genuine, creative inter-faith cooperation. If we fail in this at home, we need think no further in terms of an inter-faith movement on a world scale. But in this work and through this work we may prepare the way for world inter-faith cooperation in world planning for peace, sounding the hearts of peoples of other faiths by our achievement here.

## Summary and Discussion

By JAMES LUTHER ADAMS

Out of the blood, the sweat and the tears of the present successful war effort of the United Nations, two questions press themselves upon us as Demobilization Day approaches: "If we can organize a full employment for war, why can't we do it for peace?" And, "if we can exercise our national sovereignty to cooperate with other nations in winning a war why can't we exercise it by cooperating to make and keep peace?"

The foregoing articles or, if you please, the events of the past generation, have amply demonstrated that these two questions belong inextricably together. Peace is indivisible. To divide peace is to lose it. This means not only that it takes more than one nation to make peace or war. It means also that it requires more than political organization. Peace is a problem of politics, but it is also a problem of economics and social security and social adventure; it is a problem of race and education and — religion. Hence, we say peace is indivisible. Nothing less than the synoptic approach will do. This is the presupposition of all the articles in the present symposium. It should be the presupposition of every discussion of post-war planning.

Many people will agree that this is a valid presupposition; but it is by no means the presupposition with which we can begin. We are concerned here not only with the problems of post-war planning; we are concerned also that *these problems shall be discussed in the churches.*

### Should Churches Discuss Post-war Planning?

It is not difficult to find church people who will answer "No," and a great variety of reasons are offered in support of this negative answer. One reason frequently offered is that the average person does not know enough about the problems of planning to discuss them intelligently, and that he can only spread misinformation and disseminate a misguided idealism.

This objection must be honestly met. We must grant that the churches cannot properly discuss social policy without

first making a responsible attempt to secure accurate and relevant information. But the objection mentioned is at bottom an objection to any average citizen's presuming to discuss the problems.

We must reply that if the average man is incapable of assuming the responsibilities of citizenship, then the peoples in the democracies are committing a crime in warring against people who do not believe in democracy. The right to fight for democracy carries with it the responsibility to maintain and extend it while the fighting is going on and when it is over, unless, of course, we are only fighting to save our own skins. Moreover, if the public policies of a democracy are to receive any widespread active support, they must be backed by an informed public opinion.

Again, there are those who sincerely say: "Churches should stick to their own task, the proclaiming of the Gospel. Economics and politics should not be mixed with religion." At a recent church meeting where social problems were being discussed a Unitarian lady raised this sort of "religious" objection when she said: "It ought to be enough for us to remember that we should love mercy, do justly, and walk humbly before our God. Why do we have to bring up these controversial issues?"

A prominent layman in Chicago put the objection more strongly. "The churches are slowly but surely losing their place and influence in the world," he said. "And they are getting just what they deserve. They have been neglecting their proper task of instilling humility: they have been dealing with social and economic problems that have nothing to do with religion." This layman was immediately asked by another layman if he thought the Old Testament prophets should be read in church. The answer was, "I am not very familiar with the prophets. Why do you ask?" He was then told, "The prophets asserted that religion is very definitely concerned with social justice." To this he replied that "if the Old Testament prophets had any such idea as that, then certainly they have no proper place in the church"!

These "religious" objections to the discussion of controversial issues are frequently heard in the churches. This means that we have a long way to go before the religion of

these objectors can become relevant for the needs of men who want peace and full employment. We should have no delusions. We shall not want even to discuss post-war planning in the churches until we understand and accept the principles of prophetic religion.<sup>1</sup>

### God "Not Concerned with Religion"

From the point of view of prophetic religion, the discussion of political and social issues is indispensable. The spirit that prevails in a nation is what determines the character and direction of that nation. The national life is not a machinery that runs on its own power. The way in which it runs and what it produces depends upon the ideas and the ideals that inform the national life. "In politics as in mechanics," says John Stuart Mill, "the power which is to keep the engine going must be sought for outside the machinery." If the churches in America cannot contribute to the generation of this power and if they cannot help determine the quality of this power, then other institutions will have to perform this role. Perhaps it is because so many churches have failed to perform it that William Temple, the Archbishop of Canterbury, has recently said that "it is a great mistake to suppose that God is only, or even chiefly, concerned with religion."

### Political Promises and Planning

The Republican Party Platform, issued on June 28, 1944, includes this "plank":

"We favor responsible participation by the United States in post-war cooperative organization among sovereign nations to prevent military aggression and to attain a permanent peace with organized justice in a free world."

Governor Thomas E. Dewey, Republican nominee for president, said in his acceptance speech on the same day:

"The building of the peace is more than a matter of international cooperation. . . . Never again must free Americans face the specter of long-continued, mass unemployment. We Republicans are agreed that full employment shall be a first objective of national policy."

In short, the Republican Party and Mr. Dewey say that

<sup>1</sup>See Leslie T. Pennington's article above; also James L. Adams' Walgreen Lecture, "Peace as a Problem of Religion" in *New Perspectives on Peace* (Chicago, 1944) and *On Being Human—The Liberal Way*. American Unitarian Assn., Pamphlet No. 359.

we do not want to return to normalcy. That would be to let nature take her course and to revive chaos among the nations; it would be to allow the 11,000,000 men and women now in military service and the 20,000,000 workers now engaged in war industries to return to "opportunity" but not to jobs.

President Roosevelt, in addressing the Seventy-Eighth Congress, said of "the people at home and the people at the front":

"They want no get-rich-quick era of bogus prosperity which will end for them in selling apples on a street corner, as happened after the bursting of the boom in 1929 . . . You will find that with the opportunity for employment they want assurance against the evils of all major economic hazards."

Breathes there a man, Republican or Democrat, with faith so blind as to suppose that these objectives of peace and full employment can be attained without our taking thought, that is, without some plan?

### Almost a Thousand Planning Agencies

According to a recent count, there are now in the United States 951 different planning agencies that have set forth plans for achieving full employment. These plans range all the way from the Republican Party's promise of a plan to "promote the fullest stable employment through private enterprise" to the Socialist Party's plan of "socialized enterprise" through "public corporations operated for the peoples' benefit." To plan or not to plan? That is not the question. The question is, "What plan?" or "Whose plan?", and "For whom?"

In general, planning is any deliberate, rational effort to attain a stated goal by selection of appropriate means. As such, planning is as old as human intelligence. It may refer to the planning of one's household budget, of one's career, of a political meeting, of one's business.

*Social planning*, however, aims to affect large numbers of people: or it aims to affect categories of people: ethnic groups, occupational, regional, and social sub-divisions. Hence, it requires some central controls that can by intention affect the group of people concerned.

### Planning, Subject to Democratic Controls

Planning can proceed upon several levels and in a great variety of areas. "On one level, planning consists of *policy formulation*, either a choice of definite directions of effort or the establishment of a pattern of direction-finding. The basic question here is: *what ends are to be sought?* On another level, planning consists of *policy implementation* (italics mine), the choice of specific pathways of effort. The fundamental question here is: *how to proceed to reach a given end.*"<sup>2</sup> Obviously, social planning in a democratic society must permit both of these aspects to be subject ultimately to democratic controls, though of course the administrative function is one that requires experts whom neither the populace at large nor the legislative agency is entirely competent to judge. In general, the "planner" as he appears in our society today is of the administrative sort. He may assist the society or the legislature in deciding upon ends. But he is not in the first instance the policy-maker. The making of the policy in a democratic society depends upon consensus among the governed. Insofar as planning in a democracy has for its purpose the providing of jobs and minimum security, it is "planning for freedom." That is, it aims to maintain both the freedom that is realized in the democratic control of the government and the freedom from want.

### Planning Within Society, Not a Planned Society

As indicated in the foregoing articles the areas of planning vary greatly. Planning may be for production, as it is in industry or in the public utilities, or as it would be in the plan for housing recommended by the Urban Land Institute. It may be for protection as it is in the fire department, the health department, or the social security department. It may be planning for both production and consumption as it is in large areas of our present war economy. And, as in the case of planning for full employment, it may be planning for purchasing power. What makes this dis-

<sup>2</sup>Myron W. Watkins, "Post-War Plan and Program," *The Journal of Political Economy*, LI (October 1943), p. 397. This article presents a detailed and vigorous criticism of the recommendations of the National Resources Planning Board.

tinction between different purposes significant is the fact that no one questions the necessity for planning in some of these areas whereas in other areas there is wide disagreement. Already we have had a *mixed economy* for a long time. The National Association of Manufacturers will nevertheless be able to deceive many people into believing that there can be no compromise between an economy run absolutely by individual leaders and an economy run absolutely by the state. Part of the problem of planning hinges on the preliminary question as to whether there is sufficient consus in the population, with regard to a hitherto unplanned area, to justify and bring about the introduction of new, planned social control. It may be presumed that most people believe in our continuing to plan, in society, though they are opposed to a planned society. The progress of democracy is bound up with the former. Its death would issue from the latter.

### Plans of Power Groups Are Suspect

Types of planning may also be classified according to types of control. They may be governmental, they may be private, or they may be a form of cooperation between governmental and private controls. It is clear that the magnitude of the problem of making the transition from a war to a peace economy cannot in its main features be left to purely private groups and especially not to the monopolies. Of course, these power groups are themselves subject to control but not to democratic control. And it should be noted that the monopolies are inimical not only to freedom of competition in industry but also to popular democratic control in the legislature. Big business does not work really to eliminate bureaucracy in government, it aims to control it. Experience shows that control at the hands of private power groups leads to the entrenchment of privilege. It ends in international cartels incompatible with national interest, in marches on Washington, and finally in military controls for the maintenance of "law and order."

The problem of planning in a democratic society is, then, a problem of maintaining the maximum of freedom with the maximum of security. The first alone brings chaos, the second alone brings totalitarianism. Meaningful living as

understood in the democracies demands both security *and* adventure, both competition *and* cooperation, both high-minded social vision *and* the zest of the game<sup>3</sup>. Because the demand upon us in the present crisis is thus paradoxical in character, the sociologist Howard Becker asserts that the age of planning has arrived and that a mixed economic system, to a large degree under government control, will supersede the present economic structure.<sup>4</sup>

The necessity or the desirable extent of public ownership is of course a moot question, but it seems clear that we must have strong central controls if we are to achieve freedom of enterprise and freedom from want.

### No Discussion Without Action

There is good reason to question whether much of the discussion of post-war planning is worth the time expended on it. We say this not only because we doubt whether there is much relation between the widely publicized statements of the public relations departments *and* the findings of the research departments of some of the more noisy planning groups, like the National Association of Manufacturers and the Committee on Economic Development. We say this also because mere discussion will have little effect on the actual policies adopted. There is a slipping clutch between the discussions and their implementation in public action. The decisive element in the total situation is of course the organized power that brings the pressure to secure adoption and implementation of policies. If the liberals do not exercise this pressure, the planners will be the reactionaries.

This same danger of the futility of discussion obtains with regard to international policies. After the first World War the public polls indicated that the bulk of the citizens in the United States wanted the country to enter the League of Nations. Yet, the partisan politicians kept us out of the League.

Hence, the motto of our discussion groups should be: *No discussion without action, no action without discussion.*

<sup>3</sup>Frank H. Knight, *The Ethics of Competition*<sup>2</sup> (New York, 1936), Chapters II and XI.

<sup>4</sup>"After the Deluge," in Henry P. Jordan, ed., *Problems of Post-War Reconstruction* (Washington, D. C.: American Council of Public Affairs, 1942).

This means that we must become acquainted with local planning programs and exercise an influence through political and other pressures. We must express our common convictions at the ballot box and in the legislative assemblies. As individuals and as groups we must do it now while the great post-war issues are being settled through the passage or rejection of bills like the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill. If we fail to act politically, if we fail to participate in the full democratic process, we shall again have the judgment passed upon us: "Too little and too late." God is no respecter of persons.

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A great variety of "Planning Pamphlets" may be secured from The National Planning Assn., 800 Twenty-First Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C. Much valuable material may be found in *International Conciliation*, published monthly by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 405 West 117th Street, New York 27, N.Y., subscription price 25 cents for one year; also in *Facts for Action*, a series of pamphlets issued by the C.I.O., 718 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

## New Service Materials Available

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### *Have We Nothing to Celebrate?*

AN EDITORIAL

Beginning with this issue the JOURNAL OF LIBERAL RELIGION will introduce to its readers — as a regular quarterly feature — original and hitherto unpublished worship materials for use in our churches.

We believe that a service of this kind is long overdue. Music, hymns, responsives — all these — are spontaneous expressions of a creative religious faith. In the days of ancient Palestine, when there was a bountiful harvest, it was celebrated with the writing of a psalm. Was there a great victory or a great defeat? a psalm was written; and it was sung as a temple processional or as a chant.

Have we nothing to celebrate? Nothing to hold in remembrance? Nothing to dramatize? Must we confine ourselves on Sunday mornings to a repetition of words which — though they conveyed meaning and power to the ancients who composed and sang them — have all but lost their meaning for us?

Many of the psalms are devotional gems, and, increasingly, anthologies of great literature have come to include them. But, in selecting them for continued use in hymn and service books, editors have been moved by tradition rather than by a critical judgment of their present-day devotional value. Even in *Hymns of the Spirit* are to be found responsive readings which have served their time, and which ought to have been eliminated. The fewer than a dozen extra-Biblical readings which have been admitted are among the finest in contemporary literature. There should have been more of these and fewer of the others.

The readings that follow — whatever other merits they may possess or lack — at least speak to our contemporary need. The Journal will welcome other such expressions, and will select from them those most suitable for wider distribution.

## *America, Awake!*

America, this is thy day of dedication!  
One hundred million voices chant thy praise as other millions venture forth to battle for thy victory.

In liberty wast thou conceived;  
In hope and sacrifice thou cam'st to birth;  
In high adventure did thy boundaries cross thy mountains and thy plains.

And always thou hast been man's refuge:  
From Europe did thy people flow to thee, forever seeking life and planting faith,  
Forgetful of the past, with hopes set on the future.

For thou didst welcome all.  
Here freedom waited, frontiers called;  
Here rivers surged with power.  
Thy forests offered shelter, water, food;  
Thy mountains yielded coal and iron and oil;  
And from thy plains came cotton, wheat and corn.

What greatness now is thine, America!  
The whole world looks to thee, awaiting thy deliverance:  
China, trusting in thy strength;  
Russia, hoping for thy friendship;  
India longing for the freedom thou thyself didst win.

Stand forth, America!  
Thou art the things that made thee great, but thou art more than these:  
The many-blooded people who through the years have claimed thee as thine own, these thou art:

Red people, who once alone possessed thy lands;  
White people, who sought thee out across the seas;  
Black people, whom thou didst claim and bind against their will.  
All these, and others still, thou art;  
For all of these thy liberty was pledged.

Look to thyself, America, is it well with thee?  
Is thy compassion as broad as are thy plains?  
Is the fibre of thy spirit a match for thy great mountains?  
Are thy machines true symbols of thy greatness?

Ten million souls, from off whose bodies Lincoln broke the chains,  
fear thee still and wonder if thy pledge is good.

Free from bondage, they are not free from want or fear.

Hatred stalks them, bitterness is their lot, violence drives them to  
despair.

**From south to north they come,**

**From field to factory, seeking work, seeking food, seeking  
freedom, seeking brotherhood.**

**Wanderers still, they are; wilt thou their refuge be,  
America?**

America, march on, and let the weak be sharers in thy victory.

May thy promise and thy pledge now be fulfilled,

And may thy dearest freedom be for those who knew the agony of  
thy chains.

**Then shall new strength be thine, for brotherhood is  
strength.**

**Then shall new songs be sung for thee!**

**Then, then at last, shalt thou a single nation be,**

**With liberty for all thy children, and peace thy goal for  
all the world.**

Edwin T. Buehrer.

## My Country

A man's country is a tender thing, an unexplainable nearness and  
loveliness within him.

**It is the place where he was born; the garden green in  
spring, yellow and brown in autumn, and the first snow-  
fall he remembers.**

It is the lilac bush at the corner of his grandmother's house, the  
roses, and her Japanese snowball bush.

**It is the boys who played ball in the street, and the factory  
whistle at noon and at evening, and the mystery of the  
bats swerving under the street lights.**

A man's country is the far-away dignity of his grandfather's white  
beard, the stories of great-uncles who fought in the Civil War, and  
those legendary figures he never saw who walked west across a  
new land carrying his seed in their loins.

**It is the sun setting in a red ball behind the elm tree in the  
field back of the house, and the dimly remembered mys-  
tery of a new-born brother lying in his mother's arms.**

A man's country is his first frightened days at school, and the first airplane he saw, and his wonder at the first time he saw it raining in the sunshine.

These are some of the things that lie in the reality behind the songs and the flag, and the legend of wars in the daily papers.

A man would have his country be always a tender thing, an unexplainable nearness and loveliness within him.

For it is the place where his grandmother and grandfather lie side by side.

It is the place where lie buried the two little brothers who never lived.

It is where he will bury, one by one, those whom he loves more than life, until one day he too will lie down beside them.

A man's country is the place into which he builds his life,—into the cities and fields, into wood and brick, into the wheat and corn.

A man's country is his gift to his sons and daughters, saying, "This is my country; let it be your country also."

It is not alone those lovely-sad things which tighten the throat; it is also all the years that shall be and the destiny of his children and his children's children.

A man would have his country be larger than himself in its truths and dreams.

For a man's country is a tender thing, an unexplainable nearness and loveliness within him.

Kenneth L. Patton.

## *Cherish Your Doubts*

Ye have heard that it hath been said of old,  
Thou shalt believe and be saved.

Yea, this was the doctrine from antiquity;  
Though thou understandest not, believe and trust;

But I say unto you: Cherish your doubts,  
For doubt is the handmaiden of truth.

**Doubt is the servant of discovery;  
She is the key unto the door of knowledge.**

A thing which may not be questioned is sealed in error;  
It hideth its faults behind a padlock of fear.

**The truth standeth boldly and unafraid;  
It shall not be marred by the testing thereof.**

Doubt is the touchstone of the truth;  
It hath an acid which eateth away that which is false.

**Seest thou a man afraid of doubt?  
His life is built upon shifting sands;  
He trembleth with every wind.**

He that feareth not doubt but putteth his own beliefs to the test,  
He is not shaken by the storms of the world nor torn by the tempest  
within.

**The work of his hands shall endure;  
It is tested and true.**

Yea, though error array herself in beauteous robes  
Of delicate design, he shall walk in the truth;

**Though she come unto him in new and alluring shapes,  
He shall not be led astray.**

Let no man fear for the truth that doubt may consume her;  
Only he that would shut out his doubts denieth the truth.

**For doubt is to the wise as a staff to the blind;  
She is the handmaiden of truth.**

**Robert Weston.**

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The publishers have agreed to preserve the type frames of these readings intact for a few weeks after the appearance of each issue of The Journal so that orders in quantity—and at low cost—may be filled. Ministers are invited to make this venture with us, and to order sufficient numbers for congregational use. The pages are available at \$2.00 per 100 sets. They will be printed on paper matching in size the pages of Hymns of the Spirit. Orders should be sent to the editor.

## Books

### The Golden Thread of Liberalism

THE LEGACY OF THE LIBERAL SPIRIT. By Fred G. Bratton. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.75.

Here is a book for disillusioned liberals who are in process of reversion to "primitive types"; for uneasy liberals who are tempted to return to the "fleshpots" of conservatism; and for weary liberals who need to feel the invigorating winds of the centuries blowing in their direction. In truth, all liberals can benefit from this book, for it has the effect of giving one the feeling of being a part of an age-long and successful struggle for the freedom of the human spirit.

Doctor Bratton's style is clear and readable. His understanding of men and movements is sympathetic yet critical in the best liberal tradition. He underrates nothing because it is old, nor does he overrate anything because it is new.

The book has fourteen chapters, beginning with "Origen" and ending with "Twentieth-Century Naturalism," plus an excellent bibliography and a good index.

Origen, "ancient combination of H. G. Wells, Harry Elmer Barnes, and Adolf Harnack," is presented as the most prolific writer and the most liberal thinker of the first one thousand years of Christian history. One may not agree that Origen is the "fountain-head" of the liberal tradition, but one cannot doubt the effect of his prodigious scholarship, his courage in the face of both pagan and Christian authorities, and his large place in liberal Christian history. Greater in "intellect and scholarship" than Augustine, Origen reveals what Christianity could have been had it followed the course that he charted.

Paying due respect to the early Christian radicals, Professor Bratton shows how for three hundred years Christianity was in a state of flux and could have become something different if, for example, Arius "had had a larger following at Nicea." In such case, Christianity might well have become in its main stream of development Unitarian rather than Trinitarian.

With Erasmus the liberal spirit really got going. Here was a genius able to say the things that the martyr said—and yet remain alive. This prince of thinkers, with his pen in hand till death, "precipitated the Reformation and with it, religious freedom." Due attention is paid to Leonardo and the various giants of Renaissance Humanism who swung an age from theocentric medieval ideology

to an anthropocentric ideology grounded in the Greek tradition. Voltaire, the Enlightenment, French Rationalism, Thomas Paine, American Deism, Franklin, and Jefferson—all these men and movements, and others—are given their proper place in the great sweep of the liberal spirit.

Theodore Parker, "intellectual giant," rates a chapter, as does "New England Unitarianism," which Bratton calls "The Enlightenment in America." Emerson, Thoreau, and Channing are presented with skill and understanding. Darwin, Empirical Theology, and John Dewey bring us to twentieth-century Naturalism and Naturalistic Humanism.

The book closes with a prophetic appeal for a new liberalism consonant with the modern mind. "The principles for which liberalism has always stood—academic freedom, tolerance of heresies, the idea of human perfectibility, civil liberties, the scientific method of free inquiry, and the life of reason—are not incapacitated but await their proper adjustment to the contemporary scene."

Archaic social thinking must go; there must be more and not less science, social organization must serve human liberty; "a revivified liberalism is the only alternative to chaos."

Curtis W. Reese.

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GROUP RELATIONS AND GROUP ANTAGONISMS. Sponsored by Institute of Religious Studies and edited by R. M. MacIver. Harper and Brothers. \$2.00.

Under the heading "Minority Groups in the United States" the first half of this volume deals with Eastern European nationality and ethnic groups, with Italian Americans, the Negro minority, the Chinese minority, and concludes with a treatment of three religious minorities: Roman Catholic, Jewish, and the Society of Friends.

The second section of the book, and probably the most interesting for its inclusion of much factual and statistical material, is headed, Minority Groups and World Order. Here the European pattern of conflict between the State, the Church and the Culture, as each struggles for authoritarian control over the individual, is enlightened. Here also are treated the minority problems of Latin America, the question of India's Autonomy, and of her minorities in relation to the question of autonomy and, in addition, a not very suggestive treatment of the Soviet solution of minority problems. The editor, R. M. MacIvar includes a preface and a summation from the socio-psychological point of view.

Originally presented as after-luncheon studies during 1942-1943, these lectures by twelve authorities in their respective fields are now brought together, complete with the discussion which followed them.

Editor MacIver has done us a great favor in making the studies available in print and at modest cost. It is interesting and significant that a dozen experts in dealing with such varied materials should so agree both in analysis and conclusions. Democracy and the brotherhood of man has been preached. Now is the time to begin seriously to improve our practice of both. Democratic control is the good way to bring differences into creative cooperation. Alternatively, racial, cultural, ecclesiastical and political groups, each vying with every other for absolute control, makes a shambles of civilization. That is fast being proved.

This book has real value, limited only by the fact that it is mainly a socio-psychological study too scanty, therefore, and cursory in the emphasis it gives to the place of economics in minority-majority problems. It is high time somebody made a study of the economic minority and the results of its struggle for power. Karl Marx may be outdated but he still has a point.

Joseph Barth.

**PLANETARY DEMOCRACY.** By Oliver L. Reiser and Blodwen Davies.  
Creative Age Press, Inc. \$2.00.

In which two venturesome thinkers carry scientific humanism and semantics into the post-war world in an effort to educate man in terms of global mindedness. There is a good bibliography but no index.

**THE ANNALS.** Issue of March, 1944. Published by the American Academy of Political and Social Science. \$2.00.

An authoritative study of the conflicting nationalities, ideologies, and aspirations of Central and Eastern European countries. Indispensable for peace planners and students who want to think realistically on the problems of this strategic area with its 30 or more nationalities and its 100,000,000 inhabitants.

## Contributors to This Issue

DONALD HARRINGTON, until recently minister of The Peoples' Liberal Church and the Beverly Unitarian Fellowship in Chicago, has resigned to become the Associate Minister of the Community Church, New York. . . . HARVEY O'CONNOR, widely read author of such significant books as "Mellon's Millions," "Steel—Dictator," "The Guggenheims" and "The Astors," is one of the directors of American Labor Planning Service. He is a member of the Third Unitarian Church of Chicago. . . . STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN left the active ministry in 1939 to become Director of American Unitarian Youth. He has since taken on the added responsibility of editing the Christian Register. . . . EVERETT MOORE BAKER, who left the pulpit to become Executive Vice-President of the American Unitarian Association, and the Director of Promotion and Publications, has now returned to the pulpit as minister of the First Unitarian Church of Cleveland. . . . LESLIE T. PENNINGTON has been the minister of the First Unitarian Church in Cambridge, Massachusetts, since 1935. He compiled the Unitarian Lenten Manual for 1944, which enjoyed an unprecedentedly wide distribution. . . . JAMES LUTHER ADAMS, Professor of the Philosophy and Psychology of Religion in the Meadville Theological School, was until the emergence of this present issue the editor of the JOURNAL OF LIBERAL RELIGION. . . . ROBERT WESTON is minister of The First Congregational Unitarian Society in Lexington, Massachusetts. On leave of absence to serve as chaplain in the Navy, he is at present stationed in Jacksonville, Florida. . . . KENNETH PATTON is minister of The First Unitarian Society in Madison, Wisconsin, serving the University community. . . . CURTIS W. REESE is known far and wide as a pioneer and a leader of religious humanism. He has been Dean of Abraham Lincoln Center in Chicago for more than twenty years. . . . JOSEPH BARTH is the minister of the First Unitarian Church of Miami, Florida. He is also a successful radio preacher.